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Melvin













# A JOURNAL

OF THE

# EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC,

IN THE YEAR 1775,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

ΒY

#### JAMES MELVIN.

A PRIVATE IN CAPTAIN DEARBORN'S COMPANY



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#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The march of Arnold and his determined followers across the wilderness of Maine, and the subsequent attack and repulse at Quebec, form one of the most interesting, as well as exciting episodes in our revolutionary history; the fortitude also with which these devoted men sustained themselves amid the gloom and solitude of those untrodden wilds, merits the grateful preservation of all records which may have escaped the decaying elements of time and neglect. A spirit, akin to this, has led to the issuing of the following Journal of a soldier in that expedition.

For the purpose of co-operating with General Schuyler, who had the command of the invasion of Canada, Washington planned this expedition to Quebec, which was as remarkable for its novelty and boldness, as for the dangers and difficulties which it involved. These overcome, however, and a brilliant and speedy issue to the struggle in Canada, was rendered almost certain. The subject of this expedition was first named by Washington, in a letter to General Schuyler, dated at Cambridge, 20th of August, 1775, in which he says, "The design of this express is to communicate to you a plan of an expedition, which has engaged my thoughts for several days. It is to penetrate to Canada, by way of the Kennebec river, and so to Quebec, by a route ninety-six miles below Montreal." He also says, "The few whom I have consulted upon it, approve it much; but the final determination is deferred until I hear from you." The scheme having met the approval of General Schuyler, measures were at once taken by the Commander-in-Chief to put it in operation.

The active and fearless spirit which Benedict Arnold evinced, particularly at the taking of Ticonderoga, pointed to him as one eminently qualified to command an expedition, so daring and adventurous as that determined upon. These actions were not forgotten by Washington, and he accordingly selected him to take the command, and with it a commission as Colonel in the continental line.

Arnold, after receiving his instructions, which enjoined him to prosecute the march with all diligence and despatch, and to conciliate the good will of the people, through whose country he should pass, with eleven hundred men, commenced his march, and after six weeks' struggle, a few days before Montgomery entered Montreal, he reached the south bank of the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec.

"The long, difficult and laborious march of Arnold, through hardships and dangers, that would have appalled the stoutest follower of Zenophon—his subsequent seige and blockade of one of the strongest military posts in the world, in the heart of the enemy's country, in the midst of a northern winter, where nothing was seen but ice and snow, with raw recruits, half clad, half fed, and scarcely half covered from the storms of wind and snow—the expedition to Canada may fairly be placed on a parallel with any of the boasted achievements of ancient Greece or Rome. Nor was the conclusion of it less honorable, though less brilliant—the retreat of General Sullivan will hold a rank among the most glorious efforts of military genius, so long as the world shall delight in war."

Of James Melvin, the author of this journal, we know nothing, save what he has given us in the written account of his connection with that expedition, and from which it appears that he was attached to Captain Dearborn's company, which had been formed from a New Hampshire regiment; but whether he held any grade higher than that of a private, we have no means of knowing. The style of the composition, and ex-

ceedingly neat penmanship of the journal, is strong evidence, however, that he possessed for the times, considerable education. As a contribution to the history of Arnold's march to Canada, it is of great value, when we consider how very meagre are the details given by historians in general, when treating of that important movement of the beginning of the Revolution. Of the officers attached to the expedition, it has been remarked, that nearly all became distinguished—Morgan, Burr, Dearborn, Green, Boyd and Porterfield, are names found in many of the bloody conflicts of that protracted war. Of Arnold, the world knows his career, and we may remark with Mrs. Warren, "That he lived to be conspicuously distinguished through the American war, for his bravery and address, his activity and his villainy."

W. J. D.



### A JOURNAL.

# Cambridge, September 13, 1775.

- 1775.
  Sept. 13. This day being Wednesday, marched from Cambridge, in Capt. Dearborn's company, destined for Quebec, and were to embark at Newburyport for Kennebec river. We lodged in Medford.
  - " 14. Received one month's pay, and marched to Lynn; lodged at Porter's tavern.
  - " 15. Marched to Ipswich.
  - " 16. Marched to Newburyport; the company were quartered in a rope-walk.
  - " 17. Sunday—the detachment went to meeting.
  - " 18. P. M.—Embarked on board a schooner of seventy-five tons; the whole were embarked in eleven vessels.
  - About 10 o'clock sailed out of the harbor, and stood on and off, waiting for one of the vessels which got aground, and not getting off, the men were put on board the other vessels, and we sailed in the afternoon, with a fair wind and pleasant weather; at night it grew thick and foggy, with rain, thunder and lightning, and blowed fresh.
  - " 20. In the morning, foggy and wet; lay too part of the night; at daybreak two of our fleet were in sight, and we made sail and stood in for the shore. Blowed fresh—we made Seguin.

<sup>1</sup> Afterward Major-General and Secretary of War.

- 1775. Sept. 21. Saw two of our vessels coming out of Sheepsgut river into Kennebeck. We proceeded up the river as far as the tide would permit, and came to anchor within six miles of Fort Western.<sup>2</sup>
  - " 23. Arrived at Fort Western. One James McCormick shot Sergeant Bishop.
  - " 25. McCormick was found guilty.
  - " 26. He was brought to the gallows and reprieved.
  - " 27. Got our provisions into batteaux, and went about four miles.
  - " 28. Proceeded up the river and found the water shoal, which caused a rapid current, and we were obliged often to get out and wade, pulling the boat after us.
  - " 30. Arrived at Fort Halifax, where was the first carrying place; the land here is better than that near the sea. We carried over our batteaux and provisions; the carrying place is opposite the fort.
- Oct'r. 1. Proceeded up the river; encamped in the woods; went " 2. about ten miles. Cold and rainy.
  - " 3. Came to Scowhegan falls; the carrying place is about forty rods over a little island.
  - Went up to Bumazees Ripples, and came to Norrigewalk. The carriage-place is about a mile in length. We had oxen to haul over our provision. Our batteaux were caulked. We were now to take our leave of houses and settlements, of which we saw no more, except one Indian wigwam, 'till we came among the French, in Canada.
  - " 6. Left Norrigewalk; went about five miles.
  - " 7. Went about twelve miles and encamped. The land here is level and good; the river rapid.
  - " 8. Proceeded up the river and encamped about five miles below the falls.

<sup>2.</sup> Opposite the present town of Augusta.

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- 1775. Oct'r. 9. Arrived at the great carrying-place, where was a log house built for the sick.
  - " 10. Mr. Spring,3 our chaplain, went to prayers; we went to the first pond, four miles from the river; it blowed hard, and one of the men was killed by the falling of a tree.
  - " 11. Crossed the first pond about three-quarters of a mile over; here is plenty of fine trout.
  - " 12. There was a log house built on the first carrying-place, between the first and second ponds.
  - " 13. Crossed the carrying-place from this pond to another; the carrying-place is about one mile over.
  - " 14. Crossed the pond about half a mile over, and got over the carrying-place about one and a half miles in length; the woods are cedar and hemlock.
  - We got over the fourth carrying-place, four and a half miles over. We got over the fourth carrying-place, four and a half miles in length; part of the way over a boggy swamp, overgrown with white moss and bushes, which seemed half withered; found it difficult getting over our batteaux and barrels, sinking knee deep in moss and mud. We launched our batteaux into a small creek which enters the Dead river.
  - " 17. Went eighteen miles up the Dead river.
  - " 18. Overtook Col. Green<sup>4</sup> and his party about twenty-five miles up Dead river; had orders to put ourselves in a defensive condition.
  - " 19 Had orders to march, and went about five miles.
  - " 20: Rained all last night and this day.
  - Marched through hideous woods and mountains for the most part, but sometimes on the banks of the river, which is very rapid.

<sup>3.</sup> Father of the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Church.

<sup>4.</sup> The hero of Red Bank, who, with his command, were afterward surprised and murdered by a party of Refugees, near Pine's Bridge, Westchester county, May 13, 1781.

1775. Oct'r. 23. Captain Handshill. and sixty men went forward with ten days' provision; about forty sick and weak men went back with only two or three days' provision. The river here is narrow and excessive rapid.

" 24. Continued our march, though slowly.

" 25. Hear that Colonel Innis' division are gone back.

" 26. Crossed the fifth carrying-place, which brought us to the first pond, leading to Chadeur river.

" 27. Crossed the second carrying-place, three-quarters of a mile, then crossed second pond, then third carrying-place and third pond, then fourth carrying-place and fourth pond, and encamped.

Came down Chadeur river in a birch canoe, and went to fetch back a batteau to carry the men across a river, but could not overtake them. The company were ten miles, wading knee deep among alders, &c., the greatest part of the way, and came to a river which had overflown the land. We stopped some time not knowing what to do, and at last were obliged to wade through it, the ground giving way under us at every step. We got on a little knoll of land and went ten miles, where we were obliged to stay, night coming on, and we were all cold and wet; one man fainted in the water with fatigue and cold, but was helped along. We had to wade into the water and chop down trees, fetch the wood out of the water after dark to make a fire to dry ourselves; however, at last we got a fire, and after eating a mouthful of pork, laid ourselves down to sleep round the fire, the water surrounding us close to our heads; if it had

<sup>5.</sup> Hanchel. "Head Quarters before Quebce, Dec. 26." "I have discovered that three companies of Col. Arnold's detachment are very averse to a eoup-de-main, Capt. Hanchel, who has incurred Col. Arnold's displeasure, is at the bottom of it. A field officer is concerned in it. This dangerous party threatens the ruin of our affairs.—Extract from General Montgomery's letter. Dunlap's History of New York, vol. ii, p. 24.

<sup>6.</sup> Col. Enos.

<sup>7.</sup> Chaudiere.

 $^{1775.}_{\mathrm{Oct}^{\prime}\mathrm{r}.\,28}$  rained hard it would have overflown the place we were in. Capt. Goodrich's company had only three-quarters of a pound of pork, each man, and a barrel of flour among the whole. They ordered the batteau to proceed down the river with the flour, and when they came to the place abovementioned, waded through. They came to the knoll of land beforementioned, and made a fire to dry themselves, being almost perished. After some time they marched, and found the difficulty increasing, being informed they must return the way they came; being night, they camped on the dryest spot they could find.

Being Sunday; crossed a river after much fatigue and loss 29. of time, in a birch canoe, and then waded to another river, about forty rods from the first, which we crossed last night. I lay at a bark house, and this morning went in the canoe to ferry over the people over the two rivers above-mentioned, leaving my provision behind, as did Captain Dearborn and the three other officers. After we got over these rivers, Captain Dearborn, steering by a bad compass, went wrong about two miles, the company following, and we went back again, then went two or three miles to a little bark house, where I had left my provision, and on coming there found that our provision was stolen by Captain Morgan's company. Goodrich's company came to the lower end of Chadeur pond expecting to find their batteau with the flour, but were disappointed.

I set out in a birch bark canoe with Capt. Dearborn 30. and Captain Ayres. We proceeded to the lower end of the pond, where Captain Dearborn left the canoe, and Captain Ayres and I proceeded down Chadeur river, about three miles, and came to a riply place, which was very dangerous, the rocks standing up all over the river. Here a batteau was stove, with four men, and one man drowned,

<sup>8.</sup> The hero of the "Cowpens."

1775. Oct'r. 30.

named George Innis. I got safe down this place, and from bad or worse; proceeded till night, and encamped with the company. Goodrich's company set out early, though on empty stomachs, and marched about ten miles in hopes to overtake their batteau with the flour, but coming to a small creek, they found an advertisement set up, informing them that their batteau was stove and the flour lost, and the men with difficulty having saved their lives. This was melancholy news to them, having eaten scarcely any thing for several days, and having waded through ice and water, and were a great way from any inhabitants, and knew not how far it was. They agreed to part, and the heartiest to push forward as fast as they could.

31. This day I took my pack and went by land, all the way, to inhabitants. I was not well, having the flux. We went twenty-one miles. Goodrich's company marched three miles and were overtaken by Captain Smith, who informed them that Captain GOODRICH had left two quarters of a dog for them. They stopped and sent for the meat, but the men returned without finding it; however, some of them killed another dog9 which belonged to us, which probably saved some of their lives. Captain WARD's company killed another dog.

Nov'r. 1.

Continued unwell; this day I eat the last of my provision: I kept with the company, and we went twenty miles.

Traveled four miles; I shot a small bird called a sedee, and a squirrel, which I lived upon this day. About noon we met some Frenchmen with cattle for our army, and some meal in a canoe. I had a small piece of meat and bread

<sup>9.</sup> This dog belonged to Capt Dearborn, and was a great favorite. "My dog was very large and a great favorite. I gave him up to several of Capt. Goodrich's company. They carried him to their company, and killed and divided him among those who were suffering most severely with hunger. They ate every part of him, not excepting his entrails."-Letter of Gen. Dearborn to the Rev. William Allen.

- 1775, Nov'r. 2. given me; yesterday my messmates gave away victuals to strangers but refused me, though they knew I had mine stolen from me. This evening, to our great joy, we arrived at the first French house, where was provision ready for us. The first victuals I got was some boiled rice, which I bought of the Indians, giving one shilling and four pence for about a pint and a half. Here we were joined by about seventy or eighty Indians, all finely ornamented in their way with broaches, bracelets and other trinkets, and their faces painted. I had gone barefoot these two or three days, and wore my feet sore.
  - 3. Snowed all day; marched about nine miles, when we drawed provisions.
  - 4. Marched about thirteen miles.
  - Sunday—marched about twelve miles. Our Colonel went forward and got beef killed for us every ten or twelve miles, and served us potatoes instead of bread. I stood sentry over one Flood, who was whipped for stealing Captain Dearborn's pocket book. This was at St. Mary's.
  - Marched twenty miles; very bad traveling, as it was all the way to Quebec. Twelve miles was through woods, in the night, mid leg in mud and snow. I traveled the whole day without eating, and could not get any house to lay in, but lodged in a barn all night.
  - 7. Marched fifteen miles; snowed all day. My money being gone I could get nothing to eat 'till night, when there was an ox killed.
  - 8. Marched six miles and came to Point Levi, on the river St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec.
  - " 9. Our people took a prisoner, who was a midshipman. 10

<sup>10 &</sup>quot;The boat soon struck the bank, and a midshipman, a lad named Mc-Kenzie, brother to the captain of the frigate, sprang ashore. The tide ebbing at the time, the boat's crew were ordered to shove off, and to go higher up to a deeper landing place. While obeying this order they discovered the Americans on the bank above, and immediately pulled off

- 1775, Nov'r. 9. Continued at Point Levi; kept guard along the river side, making scaling ladders and collecting canoes to cross the river; the enemy having broken all the boats they could find.
  - " 13. In the evening crossed St. Lawrence at the mill above Point Levi, and landed at Wolfe's cove. I went back twice to fetch over the people, and stayed 'till day. The town was alarmed by our Colonel firing at a boat on the river. We went to Major Caldwell's house, about two miles from the city, where we were quartered; a whole company having only one small room.
  - "14. One of our sentries was taken by the enemy, which alarmed us; we expected they were come to give us battle, and the whole detachment marched within musquet shot of the walls, but saw none to oppose us; but when we were turned to go back they fired several cannon shots at us, without doing any damage.
  - " 15. The detachment went out on a scout; I went on guard at Wolfe's cove.
  - " 17. Went on guard at Wolfe's cove.
  - " 19. I was employed all the fore part of last night in butchering for the army, and about four in the morning got on our march and went to Point aux Trembles, about twentysix miles above Quebec. We kept guard at the river Caroche.
  - " 27. Monday—Lieut. Hutchins and sixty men, went up to meet and convoy a quantity of gunpowder, clothes, &c.

shore, leaving their officer to his fate. Morgan, frustrated in the design he had formed to surprise and capture the boat's crew, now opened a fire upon them. The midshipman, comprehending at once his situation, plunged into the river, in the hope to regain his boat; but being deserted by the boat's crew, who pulled out still further from the reach of dauger, and noticing the balls which now struck the water around him in fearful proximity to his head, he turned toward the shore, and otherwise signified his willingness to surrender."—Life of Gen. Morgan, p. 79.

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1775.

- Nov. 28. I went on guard at a bridge, six miles from Quebec; stood sentry two hours and off one every night, where I continued 'till the army came down to Quebec.
- Dec'r. 3. The cannon were sent down the river in batteaux and landed in the night.
  - " 5. The detachment marched on their way to Quebec. We were quartered in a nunnery, near the town, but it was wanted for a hospital, and we went over the river St. Charles, where we continued.
  - " 10. Sunday.—Busy making scaling ladders, &c.
  - " 25. Had orders to give our opinion whether to scale or not.
  - " 26. Turned out to storm the town, but it was too light.
  - der to storm the town; it snowed and stormed and was very dark. Our company had not timely notice of the attack, which occasioned us-to be too late, for when the firing began we had a mile and a half to march. We made all possible haste, and met Colonel Arnold going back wounded. I was on guard in St. Roque that night, and went forward with the main body, and was not with the company. The company went beyond Palace Gate, the enemy firing briskly at them from the walls, and killed two or three. The enemy sallied out, and they surrendered, as did all the detachment, except some few who made their escape. We were put into a monastery, among the friars; at night we had some biscuit distributed among us.

<sup>11.</sup> In the action Capt. Dearborn, who had been quartered on the north side of the river St. Charles, marched to join the main body, but in the attempt was captured with his company by Capt. Law, who issued from Palace Gate, with two hundred men and some cannon.—. Allen's Biograph'-cal Dictionary.

# JANUARY, 1776.—PRISONER IN QUEBEC.

- Jan'y 1. We had a straw bed between two, and a blanket, each man, served to us. We had some porter given us. Snowed in the morning.
  - " 3. We were ordered to give a list of our names, age, where born, and what regiment we belonged to. Snowed in the morning.
  - 4. All the old countrymen were called into another room and examined. Snowed in the morning.
  - " 5. They were called for again, and made to take arms for the king until the 31st May.
  - " 6. Fair weather; they were taken out.
  - " 7. Some of our people taken with the small pox. Fair weather.
  - " 8. Snowed in the morning.
  - " 9. Very dark weather and snowed. Some more taken with the small pox, and we expect it will be a general disorder, for we are very thick, nasty and lousy. Our living is salt pork, biscuit, rice and butter, and a sufficiency allowed if we were not checked in our weight, by one Dewey, who is appointed our quarter-master-sergeant, to deal out our provision; and instead of being our friend, proves our greatest enemy, defrauding us of great part of our provision. We have not above three oz. of pork a day, and not half-pint of rice and two biscuit a day.
  - " 10. Fair, but excessive cold. I went to the hospital, having the small pox.
  - .. 11. A snow storm, lasted two days and nights.
  - " 12. Snowed all day; cleared at night.

Jan'y 13. Snowed all day.

- " 14. Sunday. Fair, but very cold.
- ' 15. An excessive cold snow storm.
- " 16. Fair weather; snowed all next night.
- " 17. Snowed all day.
- Cloudy and cold; several taken with the small pox; went 18. to the hospital; some of our men's clothes brought into town from our army, but none for our company. I am now got almost well, having had the small pox lightly. A Frenchman being at the point of death, the nuns came and read over him, afterward the priest came in, then they fetched in a table, covered with a white cloth, and lighted two wax candles, about three feet long, and set them on the table. The priest put on a white robe over his other garments, and the nuns kneeled down, and the priest stood and read a sentence, and then the nuns a sentence, and so they went on some time; then the priest prayed by himself; then the nuns and then the priest again; then they read altogether a spell, and finally the priest alone; then the priest stroked the man's face, and then they took away their candles and tables, &c., and the man died.
- " 19. Cloudy and cold.
- " 20. Dewey complained of fifteen of our men who had agreed to fight their way out; two of them were put in irons.
- " 21. Cloudy and cold; cleared in the afternoon. We were ordered to make a return of all the tradesmen among us. About this time two of our company, who were listed into the king's service, made their escape out of town. This day I came out of the hospital.
- " 22. Last night our army burnt four of the enemy's vessels.

  Cloudy and cold; cleared in the afternoon.
- " 23. Cloudy.
- " 24. Cloudy; snowed in the morning.
- " 25. Fair weather.

1776. Jan'y 26.

Cloudy and cold.

" 27. Fair weather.

" 28. Sunday. Clear and excessive cold.

29. Clear and excessive cold.

" 31. The time seems very long; no employment. Nothing heard or seen but playing at eards, swearing, and some playing away all their allowance of victuals; some employ themselves in making wooden spoons, little boxes, &c.; cloudy.

#### FEBRUARY, 1776.

Feb'y 1. Clear weather.

" 2. A pleasant day.

3. Clear weather.

" 4. Sunday. Clear and cold.

" 5. Cold and windy; snowed at night.

" 6. Clear weather.

" 7. Thick weather.

" 8. Clear and cold.

" 9 Cold and snowed.

" 10. An excessive bad snow storm; some sentries froze dead.

" 11. Sunday. Cleared up in the night, and was a fair day.

" 12. Pleasant weather. Our men take the small pox fast.

" 13. Fair and cold.

" 14. Fair weather.

" 15. Clear weather. One of our men named Parrot, put in irons for calling one of the emigrants a tory. Our army opened a battery.

' 16. All the old countrymen brought into prison again, be-

cause six of them deserted last night.

" 18. Sunday. Clear weather.

4 19. do. do.

" 20. do. do.

" 21. Thick weather.

" 22. Clear weather.

1776. Feb'y 23. Cloudy and windy.

- " 24. Various reports concerning us; some say we shall be sent to England and sold as slaves to some island; others say that we shall be sent to Boston and exchanged; others say that we shall certainly be hanged; but we are in hopes that our people will release us by taking the town.
- " 25. Sunday. Fair weather.
- " 26. Thick weather.
- " 27. Snowed in the morning and thawed at night.
- " 28. Snowed in the morning and thawed all day.
- " 29. Fair and cold.

#### March, 1776.

- March 1. Clear and cold: one Brown put in irons for answering one of the sentries who abused him.
  - " 2. Snowed in the morning; clear and cold all day.
  - " 3. Sunday. Clear and cold.
  - " 4. Clear.
  - " 5. Cloudy, windy and cold; snowed at night.
  - " 6. Cold weather; hail and rain.
  - " 7. Clear weather.
  - " 8. Clear and cold.
  - " 9. The town was alarmed.
  - " 10. Sunday.
  - " 13, We were removed to the goal, near St. John's gate, which is bomb proof. Here we have the liberty of a yard of about a quarter of an acre.
  - " 16. Rained all day.
  - " 17. Sunday, pleasant weather. The guard set over us are old Frenchmen and boys, who are very saucy, telling us we shall be hanged; pointing their bayonets at us; threatening to shoot us for opening a window, or any such trifle.
  - " 18, Pleasant weather.
  - " 19. Snowed.

1776. M'ch 20.

Snowed in the morning; clear at night.

- " 21. Clear and cold. The French guard of boys and old men are very saucy—threatening us daily.
- " 22. Cloudy and cold.
- " 24. Sunday. Cold and squally.
- " 25. Clear and cold.
- " 26. Last night one of our men escaped out of goal and got clear. About this time a plan was laid for our enlargement, and we prepared to break out and make our escape, by seizing the guard. Clear and cold.
- " 27. Clear and cold.
- " 28. do. do.
- " 29. Clear; a warm sun.
- " 30. Clear; a warm sun.
- " 31. Sunday. Snowed; our scheme found out; the sentry hearing some noise in the cellar, search was made, and some suspicion raised which might have passed off had not one of our own men, John Hall, discovered the whole affair, and all the sergeants and corporals were put in irons.

#### APRIL, 1776.

- April 1. Fair weather. This morning the guard turned out and fired some time before the goal; then the alarm bell rang, and the cannon on the walls were fired in order to draw our army near the walls that they might cut them off with grape shot. This day we were almost all in irons.
  - " 2 Pleasant weather.
  - " 3: Cannonading on both sides. Our army are erecting a battery at Point Levi. Cloudy, and rained in the afternoon.
  - " 4. Squally.
  - " 5. Fair weather.
  - .. 6. Cloudy and cold.
  - " 7. Sunday.
  - " . Cloudy.

- 1776. April 9. Warm weather.
  - " 10. Fair weather.
  - " 11. Very windy last night; rained in the afternoon.
  - " 12. Cloudy and snowed.
  - " 13. A raw air.
  - " 14. Sunday. Major McKenzie came in and took Captain Morgan's company out of irons. Clear in the morning; cloudy almost all day.
  - " 15. This day the Yorkers' time was out, and they wanted to go home, but were compelled to stay.
  - " 16. Clear morning; clouded up soon.
  - " 17. Had a week's allowance of fresh beef, which had been killed three or four months, of which they boasted much, telling us it was more than our army could get. Windy and cold.
  - " 18. Cloudy morning; clear afternoon; cannonading on both sides.
  - " 19. Cloudy and cold.
  - " 20. Cloudy.
  - " 21. Sunday. Pleasant. They fired heavy cannon in the city.
  - " 22. The time seems long; all in irons; though most of us pull them off at night. I never lay but two nights with them on.
  - " 23. Cold and squally.
  - " 24. Fair and windy.
  - " 25. Our army began to cross the river to and from Point Levi. Fair weather.
  - " 26. Cloudy and some rain; the ground one half bare of snow.
  - " 27. Cloudy.
    - Some of our officers tried to make their escape, but were discovered and put in irons. Fair weather.
  - " 29. Pleasant weather.
  - " 30. Foggy and rainy.

#### MAY, 1776.

1776. May 1.

- Cloudy; snowed in the morning.
- Fair and cold. Fired brisk on both sides.
- " 3. Heard cannon fired at some distance.
- " 4. At nine or ten o'clock, at night, the town was alarmed by a fire-ship from our people, which did no damage.
- " 5. Sunday. Rained in the morning; cleared toward night.
- " 6. Pleasant. About sunrise the town was alarmed, and three ships came up, landed some troops, and sailed up the river. The troops marched out at noon, and our army retreated, leaving a few sick men behind them, who were brought into town.<sup>12</sup>
- " 7. Gen. Carleton came in and ordered our irons to be taken off. Pleasant day.
- " 8. Cloudy. Hear many improbable stories about Boston, New York, &c.
- " 9. Rainy day. Six prisoners were brought into goal.
- "10. Two riflemen were taken out of goal; we don't know on what terms. Same day, two Jersey dumpling eaters were brought in; they were found among the bushes, not having tried to make their escape, being too heavy laden with dumplings and pork, having forty pounds of pork, a knapsack full of dumplings, and a quantity of flour. Fair in the morning; rained at night.
- " 11. Fair weather. A party of king's troops marched.
- " 12. Sunday. Clear weather.
- " 13. Fair; a raw wind.
- " 14. Fair; a ship sailed for England.
- " 15. Fair; a raw wind.
- " 16. Fair and clear.

<sup>12.</sup> General Thomas, who was appointed to succeed Montgomery, arrived early in May; but Carleton having received reinforcements under Burgonne, the Americans were obliged to make a hasty retreat, leaving their stores and sick behind. The latter were kindly treated, and finally sent home.—Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, vol. i. p. 202.

1776. May 17.

Fair.

- " 18. Pleasant weather; hear that Major Meigs and Captain Dearborn are gone home.
- " 19. Sunday. Fair weather.
- " 20. Cloudy and showery. Light infantry and grenadiers marched.
- " 21. Cloudy, and a raw wind.
- " 22. Pleasant weather.
- · · 23. do. do.
- " 24. do. do.
- " 25, Rained in the afternoon. Sergeant Boyn brought back to prison.
- " 26. Sunday.
- " 27. Pleasant. Ten ships arrived with troops.
- " 28. Clear and windy.
- " 29. Fair.
- " 30. Fair; eloudy at night.
- " 31. Fair; some troops marched.

## June, 1776.

- June 1. The Brunswickers arrived; said to be six thousand. 14
  - " 2. Sunday. Fair weather.
  - " 3. Warm; cloudy at night.
  - " 4. A royal salute fired, being the king's birth-day. Cloudy.
  - " 5. Pleasant weather. Gov. Carleton came in to us and offered to send us home on condition not to bear arms again.

<sup>13.</sup> Sergeant Boyd, who after being exchanged, was a lieutenant in the first Pennsylvania regiment, and accompanied Gen. Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians, in 1779, and by whose hands he perished, after suffefing the most atrocious cruelties.

<sup>14. &</sup>quot;We are now, after much suffering, two leagues distant from Quebec, where we shall arrive this evening, but where we shall not make any stay; General Carleton having, before our arrival, driven the rebels from the environs of Quebec, and being at present engaged in their pursuit."—

Madame De Reidesel's Journal, p 25.

- June 6. Cloudy; rained at night. Sent the governor an answer to his proposal.
  - " 7. Cloudy and windy.
  - " 8. Fair weather. Hear that there are three thousand of our men at Sartigan.
  - " 9. Fair weather. Sunday. Hear that they landed three thousand men, and our army defeated them.
  - " 10. Fair weather. Hear that two thousand of our men were surrounded and taken.
  - " 11. Very pleasant.
  - " 12. Fair weather.
  - " 13. Fair weather. Hear they have taken two hundred of our men, who are to be sent to Halifax. Heard that our men had sunk the Commodore.
  - " 14. Raw cold wind.
  - " 15. Rained at night.
  - " 16. Fair weather.
  - " 17. Fair weather. Hear that our army have killed and taken four thousand Dutchmen.
  - " 18. Clear morning; cloudy afternoon.
  - " 19. A thunder storm, with hail stones as big as 2 oz. balls; a voung woman was killed by the lightning.
  - " 20. A fair morn; a shower in the afternoon.
  - " 21. Fair weather.
  - " 22. A fair morn; rained in the evening.
  - " 23. Sunday. Fair weather. Hear that our men drove the king's troops.
  - " 24. Fair. Hear that our army have retreated out of Canada.
  - " 25. Fair weather. Hear that they have brought three hundred Jersey blues, prisoners, to town.
  - " 26. Fair weather.
  - " 27. Fair. Two ships came up in the morning.
  - " 28. Fair and warm.
  - " 29. Fair weather. Hear that peace is proclaimed; also, that

- June 29. they have killed four thousand of our men and taken ten thousand, and that General Washington is killed.
  - " 30. Sunday. We hear there is a French fleet come in at Philadelphia, of seventy sail. Two ships came up to Quebec.

#### JULY, 1776.

- July 1. Fair weather; a thunder shower at night. Hear of the Indians scalping our people at Three Rivers.
  - " 2. Lowery weather.
  - " 3. Showery weather; cleared in the afternoon.
  - " 4. Fair weather. We hear that they are waiting for some officers that they have taken, to come here, and then we shall be exchanged. Two prisoners brought in. Thunder at night.
  - " 5. Rainy morn; clear afternoon. One of our men was so indiscreet as to pull out one of the iron bars, in sight of the sentry. When he was relieved he fetched the officer of the guard and showed him what had been done, and search being made, some more were found out, which caused much suspicion of us all. The prisoners brought in last night inform us that the Indians scalped many of our soldiers, some of them alive; but that General Carleton, to his great honor, has refused to pay those murdering fiends for any more scalps, but will pay them the same reward for every prisoner.
  - " 6. Fair weather. Saw three ships working in. The man who pulled out the grate was informed of, so that we hope it will have no ill effect.
  - " 7. Sunday. Some showers in the morning. The man who pulled out the grate beat the man who informed of him, and he complained to the Provost. We hear that they have sent an express to the Governor, informing him we have made another attempt to break out; we have also a report that our officers had attempted to set the place they were

- 1776.
- July 7. confined in, on fire. This, as well as many more reports, are not worth belief.
  - " 8. Pleasant weather. Hear that Col. McLane is taken.
  - " 9. Hear that we are to go home soon. Pleasant weather.
  - " 10. Very fine weather.
  - " 11. Fine morning; rained in the afternoon and night. Hear that Col. McLane is taken, and two thousand of their men, crossing the lake, and that there is a French fleet coming here. We also hear that the German troops are to return home.
  - " 12. Rained almost all day. Hear that we are to sail for New York in less than ten days.
  - " 13. Fair and warm.
  - " 14. Sunday. Fair weather. We hear we are to embark tomorrow.
  - " 15. Fair and moderate. Hear the Governor is expected in town soon, and then it will be known what will be done with us.
  - " 16. Showery.
  - " 17. Do. cold. We have bread served to us instead of our allowance of butter.
  - " 18. Fair and temperate. Hear that Col. McLane is come to town, and that the Governor is expected every minute.
  - " 19. Cloudy and cold; the weather is so cold that the Canadians do not expect a good crop of corn. It is so cold as to wear a great coat. We hear that Col. McLane says we shall not be sent home.
  - " 20. Fair weather. Connor, one of the prisoners who came into goal last, was taken and put in some other place of confinement, and, as we suppose, put in irons for talking impertinently to the Captain of the Provost guard.
  - " 21. Rainy weather, with thunder. Hear that we are to go home very soon; heard from our officers, who gave us encouragement. We have also a report that the French,

- July 21. Spaniards and Prussians are at war with Great Britain, and that there is a large fleet in the bay of St. Lawrence.
  - " 22. Fair weather. Saw a ship sail out. This afternoon the Governor arrived from the army, and was saluted with fifteen guns. This gives us hopes that we shall be sent home.
  - " 23. Cloudy morning; fair all day. One of our company is out of his right mind.
  - " 24. Rainy weather fore part of the day. We hear we are to be sent to Montreal and exchanged.
  - " 25. Fair. Hear we are not to go home.
  - " 26. Some rain. We hear that the Governor has sent to let our officers know that within three days he will appoint a day when to send us home. Saw a brig and a ship come in.
  - 27. Fair weather. We hear that the Governor has let our officers know that he will send us home on the 4th or 5th of August. This day we saw the French priest going to visit a sick person. He was attended by about twenty people, as follows: first a man goes ringing a little hand bell, then two men or boys, carrying two lanthorns, with lighted candles on poles, about ten feet long; then comes the priest, under a canopy, supported by two men; it is like the teaster of a bed. The priest is dressed in white linen robes over his black clothes, and things as heavy as boards tied to his knees, and hang dangling and knocking against his shins. They have crosses on these two things. After the priest follow the friends and children of the sick person, and any others that happen to be going that way who think they are doing good to join in with the rest. Every one that hears the bell is obliged to kneel down while they pass by. The priest has a great cross upon his breast, and a string of wooden beads hanging by his side. The people all have these beads when they go to church, to help them remember their prayers. They also use the same ceremony when they go to a burying, and have choristers singing before the corpse.

- July 28. Fair weather. This day, Mr. Murray, barrack master, came in and told us we were to sail in a week. We now begin to believe there is something in it, though we have had so many different reports that we can scarce believe any thing we hear. We are all to have a shirt a piece given us.
  - " 29. Rainy weather. SIAS, the man who is out of his senses, grows worse, talking of killing some of the people, &c.
  - " 30. Fair weather, except a shower or two.
  - " 31. Fair weather. We hear a report that our army have reentered Canada and retaken Fort St. Johns. We have been seven months in prison to day.

#### AUGUST, 1773.

- Aug. 1. Rainy morning.
  - We are to go on board the vessel on Sunday next.
  - " 3: Fair weather. Hear that our sick men, at the hospital, are to go on board this evening. We expect to go to-morrow morning.
  - " 4. Sunday. Fair weather.
  - " 5. Fair weather. This afternoon we have each of us a shirt given to us, and thirty-five of our men were sent on board, after signing the paper.

END OF JOURNAL.

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